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AFL-CIO Leaders Visit South America

Headed by President George Meany, an AFL-CIO delegation is now in South America on a goodwill tour. Shown leaving New York are, left to right, Mrs. David Dubinsky, AFL-CIO Vice-President Dubinsky, Mrs. George Meany, President Meany, AFL-CIO Vice-President O. A. Knight and AFL-CIO Latin American Representative Serafino Romualdi.

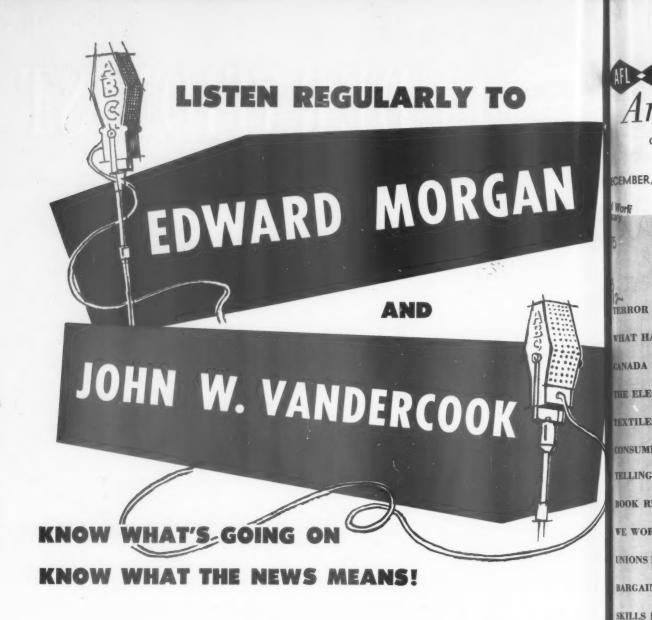
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TERROR IN RUNGARY

TELLING LABOR'S STORY



TO KEEP UP WITH THE NEWS, you can't do better than to form the enjoyable habit of listening regularly to Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook, who broadcast five nights a week over the ABC radio network. You can't be a good citizen unless you are well-informed on the important developments at home and abroad. Morgan and Vandercook provide the essential information—and they also help their listeners to understand the meaning of the day's big news. If you haven't been hearing the broadcasts of these expert newsmen, both of whom are sponsored by the AFL-CIO as a public service, you've been depriving yourself of genuine educational treats. For the news as you need and want it, start listening to Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook tonight.

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

CEMBER, 1956

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 63, No. 12

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Citizenship

The first duty of the citizen is obedience to law. It extends to the ordinances of every jurisdiction in which the citizen finds himself—national, state and municipal.

A second duty is that of respect for public authority, and this means both public officials and their enactments. Of course, this duty can be exaggerated, but in our day and country the opposite perversion is much more frequent.

Closely connected with obedience is the duty of loyalty. To the idea of obedience, which may be quite formal, mechanical and even reluctant, it adds the notions of intensity, emotion, spontaneity and constancy.

In a republic, legislation and administration depend finally upon the intelligence and morality of the voters. They have it in their power to make the government a good one or a bad one. Therefore, this function is of the gravest importance, and the obligation which it imposes is likewise grave.

The obligation of taking part in the election of candidates for civil offices is an obligation of legal justice. Citizens are bound to promote the common good in all reasonable ways. The franchise enables them to further or to hinder the common weal greatly and fundamentally, inasmuch as the quality of the government depends upon the kind of officials they elect.

The good man is not a good citizen unless he possesses the specific knowledge essential to good citizenship. This comprises adequate perception of the citizen's power and responsibility and a reasonable degree of acquaintance with political institutions, personages and policies.

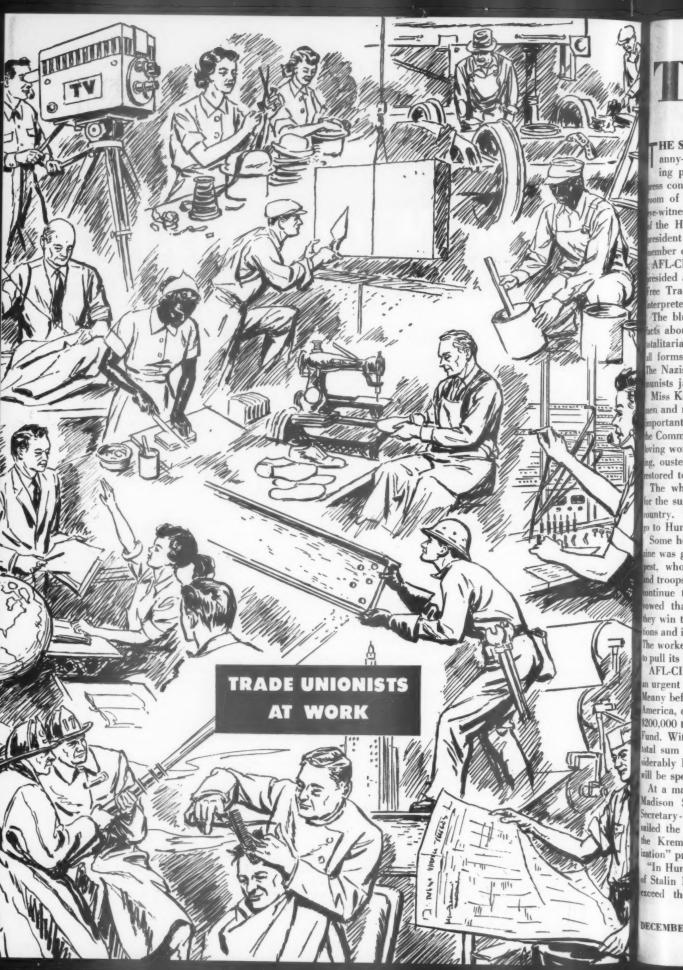
The good citizen recognizes all these obligations and makes reasonable and continuous efforts to fulfill them. Such a man, and only such a man, possesses an adequate civic consciousness.

John A. Ryan.



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TERROR in Hungary

THE STORY of Hungary's revolt against Soviet tyranny—and of the key role played in it by the working people—was told November 14 at a dramatic ress conference held in the Executive Council meeting oom of the AFL-CIO Building in Washington. The ye-witness report was made by Anna Kethly, a leader the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, a former resident of the Teachers' Union of her country and a member of deposed Premier Imre Nagy's cabinet.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler resided at the press conference. Jay Lovestone of the free Trade Union Committee acted as Miss Kethly's

arnreter -

The blue-eyed lady was well-qualified to present the back about satellite Hungary's rebellion against Soviet balitarianism. Miss Kethly has been a fighter against of forms of tyranny and brutality for a long time. The Nazis imprisoned her for three years. The Communists jailed her for four years.

Miss Kethly emphasized to the assembled newspaperner and representatives of radio and television the very important part taken by workers in the revolt against be Communist enslavers. She recounted how freedomowing workers seized factories at the outset of the uprisng, ousted the Communist officials of the unions and estored to office their old democratic leaders.

The white-haired Hungarian trade unionist pleaded for the support of the struggle for liberty in her native country. She urged a United Nations commission to so to Hungary, make a survey and report its findings. Some hours after this press conference, as this magazine was going to press, the patriotic workers of Buda-

pest, who had fought Soviet tanks and troops in heroic fashion, voted to continue their general strike. They would that they would strike until they win their demands for free elections and independence from Moscow. The workers called upon the Kremlin to pull its troops out of Hungary.

AFL-CIO unions, responding to urgent call from President George Meany before his departure for South America, quickly contributed close to \$200,000 to the AFL-CIO Free Labor Fund. With checks arriving daily, the lotal sum is expected to mount considerably higher. The contributions will be spent for Hungarian relief.

At a mass meeting in New York's Madison Square Garden, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler assuled the Soviet terror and derided the Kremlin's so-called "de-Stalinization" program.

"In Hungary," he said, "the pupils of Stalin have shown that they can reced their masters in deception

Role of workers in the revolt was told at press conference at which Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler presided.

and destruction, in treachery and terror. While the Kremlin was assuring the U.N. General Assembly that it was negotiating with the Budapest government for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Zhukov was regrouping his armed forces for wanton aggression against the Hun-



garian people. The slaughter that followed these assurances was conceived in deceit and perpetrated with a cynicism that Hitler and his Gestapo at their worst would have envied."

The free workers of the world, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, protested vehemently to the United Nations against the presence of the Russian troops in Hungary. In many countries there were token strikes and other shows of sympathy.

In the Hungarian carnage, Communist evil stands exposed to all the world as never before. "Neutralists" and advocates of "coexistence" are dismayed. In France, Britain and many other countries, veteran Communists have ripped up their membership cards. Free labor for many years has accused the Soviets of utter inhumanity—and today even the blind must acknowledge that labor's grave charge has been proved right to the hilt.



Emergency conference of trade unionists assailed the Kremlin's inhumanity and called upon the United Nations to demand Soviet troops quit Hungary.

What Happened to WALSH-HEALEY?

By BERT SEIDMAN

Economist, AFL-CIO Department of Research

NE of the basic pieces of protective labor legislation, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, is a dead letter for most of the workers it should benefit.

The Walsh-Healey Act has been on the federal statute books for twenty years. It provides that every employer who gets a contract to furnish goods or services to the government amounting to \$10,000 or more must pay all his employes at least the "prevailing minimum wage" as determined by the Secretary of Labor.

The trouble is that this law is being administered in such a half-hearted way that it affects only a few industries. Even in these industries the Labor Department's grossly inadequate funds and staff, plus unduly lengthy procedures, make the Walsh-Healey rates long out-of-date on the day they take effect.

Moreover, judicial roadblocks and court litigation may postpone actual application of the minimum rates for several additional years.

Congress' purpose in enacting the Walsh-Healey Act was to put a halt to the highly undesirable situation in which the government was forced to award contracts to firms which could make the lowest bid only because their employes were forced to work at substandard wages and working conditions.

If the Walsh-Healey Act is properly applied so that the prevailing minimum wage is determined at a fair and realistic level, the federal government is not placed in the position of subsidizing the lowest wage firms and penalizing the employers who attempt to pay their employes decent wages.



BERT SEIDMAN

Walsh-Healey's importance today is that it sets the stage in a large number of firms and in a considerable number of industries for establishing a minimum wage higher than the \$1 minimum under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The reason for this is that the "prevailing minimum wage" in most industries is above \$1 an hour and has been for some time.

Since so many firms and industries are engaged in work on government contracts, a fully effective and properly administered Walsh-Healey program would result in minimum wages above the FLSA \$1 minimum in a large sector of American industry. The trouble is that to a very large extent Walsh-Healey is just not oper-

If you look at the table on the next

page, you will find at least three things wrong with it:

(1) Many industries that work on government contracts are omitted from the list.

(2) Only the seven determinations issued within the past two years can be considered even reasonably up-todate, and of these, three are based on hearings held four to six years ago.

(3) The Walsh-Healey minimum wage rates are far below the actual prevailing minimum wage in these industries. This discrepancy is, of course, even greater in other industries where, pending new determinations at some future time, previous Walsh-Healey minimums below \$1 an hour have been raised only to the \$1 level.

During the recent political campaign, the Secretary of Labor boasted that the Eisenhower Administration had vigorously administered the Walsh-Healey Act. One way to test sincerity of purpose in administering a program is to examine the personnel and funds allocated to it.

Responsibility for administering and enforcing the Walsh-Healey Act is assigned to the Public Contracts Division of the Department of Labor. This Division supervises wage studies, necessary for determining prevailing minimum wages, holds hearings, advises the Secretary of Labor on minimum wage determinations and attempts to discharge the many other functions involved in the Walsh-Healey program.

Completely disregarding the tremendous potential importance of the Walsh-Healey program to large numbers of workers and their families,

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the Secretary of Labor has assigned to the Public Contracts Division a total staff of seventeen individuals. Of this number, only eight employes—seven professional and one clerical—are concerned with minimum wage determinations.

Is it any wonder that the Walsh-Healey minimum wage determination program is so ineffective when only eight employes in the entire government are assigned to carry it out? Let's see what the Walsh-Healey program should be and what fraction of the job these eight employes can actually accomplish.

In RECENT years there has been a maximum of five Walsh-Healey hearings held each year. During the current fiscal year, the program calls for hearings for seven industries.

There are some ninety to 100 industries in which Walsh-Healey minimum wage determinations could and should be made. At the rate of seven industries a year, it would take about thirteen years for all these industries to be covered. Certainly nothing need be said about how completely outmoded a minimum wage would be after that length of time.

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Since the Secretary of Labor has not asked for increased staff for Walsh-Healey, Congress has not taken steps to provide for an expansion. Actually, only a relatively small amount of additional funds would permit Walsh-Healey determinations to be kept up on a reasonably up-to-date basis.

As a matter of fact, in a similar program, minimum wages for industries in Puerto Rico, this is exactly what has been done. Until last year minimum wages for Puerto Rican industries were being set at about the same snail's pace as Walsh-Healey rates. In the 1955 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, Congress required the minimum wage rate in Puerto Rico to be reviewed once each year.

With an expanded staff, this schedule, which the Labor Department once thought impossible, is now being maintained. There is no reason why the Walsh-Healey program cannot be speeded up in the same

The Walsh-Healey program will never be really effective until it is supported by sufficient funds and staff. It is the responsibility of the Secretary of Labor, who is charged

by law with its administration, to request such funds of Congress. And Congress should appropriate them without delay.

Unfortunately, even a stepped-up Walsh-Healey program would not guarantee payment of the actual prevailing minimum wage to covered workers. This is because the detailed technical procedures prior to the issuance of minimum wage determinations are extremely time-consuming.

These procedures ordinarily include a wage survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a public hearing at least six months after the date of the survey and an additional few months for deliberation and analysis of the wage survey and the hearings by the Labor Department staff and the Secretary.

This means that on the date the determination is issued, the "prevailing minimum wage" does not actually reflect the wages paid in the industry, but is based on the wages paid two years or more before.

For example, in August a minimum wage determination of \$1.20 an hour for the electric lamp industry took effect. The public hearing was held in April, 1955, and the wage data on

which the determination was based were collected in October, 1954. Thus the minimum wage determination was already two years out of date by the time it was issued.

In Addition to lags due to inadequate staff and lengthy procedures, the Fulbright amendment of 1951 has made Walsh-Healey determinations vulnerable to protracted court litigation.

This amendment has permitted employers to hold up application of Walsh-Healey determinations by obtaining court injunctions prohibiting the Secretary from putting the determination into effect. This means that while the case is in the courts, lowwage workers are denied the Walsh-Healey minimum wages which the law is supposed to guarantee.

In the recent cases involving the woolen and worsted and cotton textile industries, Walsh-Healey determinations were held up for two to three years. In cotton textiles, for example, the minimum wage determination of \$1 an hour issued by then Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin in January, 1953, based on March, 1952, wage in (Continued on Page 28)

Walsh-Healey Wage Determinations Above \$1 an Hour

Industry	Minimum	Rate	Effective	Date
Electric lamps	\$1.20		Aug.	1956
Photographic and blueprinting equipment and supplies			May	1956
Office machines	1.10		June	1956
Paper and pulp (except paper b	pags) 1.11	5	Dec.	1955
Envelopes	1.08		Dec.	1955
Bituminous coal	1.40	-2.346	Nov.	1955
Metal business furniture and storage equipment	1.10		Dec.	1954
Woolen and worsted	1.20		May	1954
Small-arms ammunition, explos and related products		-1.20	April	1952
Paint and varnish (except Southeast)	1.05		Feb.	1952
Bone black, carbon black and lamp black			Jan.	1951
Industrial chemicals (except Southeast)	1.15		Jan.	1951
Aircraft	1.05		July	1950
Iron and steel	1.08	1/2-1.23 .	Aug.	1949

CANADA LIKES LABOR UNITY

By CLAUDE JODOIN

President, Canadian Labor Congress

NEW era in the Canadian labor movement has coincided with the greatest economic expansion in our country's history. Had it been possible to time precisely the merger of the two previous central organizations—the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Canadian Congress of Labor—it would have been impossible to select a more appropriate period.

The adjustments inevitable to such a change in organizational structure have presented fewer difficulties and have been met with greater speed than was originally anticipated. By the end of the year there will be one united federation in the majority of our provinces, and local labor councils in most of the cities will have

merged.

Since our two congresses united there has been new evidence of a willingness on the part of affiliates to sit down in frank discussions of jurisdictional problems across the conference table. These meetings have already produced results. While it would be an exaggeration to say that jurisdictional problems in Canada are all disappearing, the atmosphere for meeting them has definitely improved.

At the same time there have been expressions of a desire for cooperation and unity on the part of some sections of the movement which were previously outside the two old congresses. At the time of our merger the One Big Union, a long-established group centered in Manitoba, came into the new Canadian Labor Congress. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen voted to affiliate its Canadian membership with the Canadian Labor Congress in the same manner that it favored affiliating with the AFL-CIO on behalf of its United States membership.

Discussions are being held with the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, a body of 100,000 centered in the province of Quebec. At a recent convention of this organization,



CLAUDE JODOIN

delegates voted overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation with the Canadian Labor Congress.

These developments have naturally been encouraging to all of us in the Canadian labor movement. They contribute toward a strengthening of our movement and help us to equip ourselves to be of greater service to the working men and women of our country. But, despite the new strength we have gained through unity, the challenges we face will tax our resources to the utmost.

Our national development is at a stage which the United States went through some years ago. Within a very short period we have changed from a primarily agricultural country to one that is highly industrialized. Yet the days of pioneering have not disappeared.

Model cities are springing into being where little more than a year ago there was only forest. Much of this development centers around mining. Only a few weeks ago one of our largest affiliates paid \$6000 for a union hall site on ground that is covered with rock and bush. Nearby is a mine that is potentially one of the

largest producers of uranium in the world. Today the area is a boom mining town, but bulldozers are already carving out the beginning of a new city which will incorporate all the best features of modern town planning.

One of the greatest challenges Canadian labor faces is organization. In industry as a whole, only 34 per cent of the non-agricultural paid workers hold union cards. The largest unorganized groups are in the white collar occupations, including the services. Coupled with this opportunity is the large number of workers who will find employment as a result of the development of our resources and the expansion of our industries.

A major organizing difficulty in our country is geography.

Canada has an area exceeding that of the United States. The population is 16,000,000. While air travel has helped meet the problem of great distances, union organizing and servicing are more costly than where there is a heavy concentration of population.

In Many instances the complexities of labor legislation present problems to Canadian labor organizations. Only a very few industries—particularly transportation and communication—come under federal jurisdiction. Other industries are governed by legislation which is under the control of the provinces. Thus, it is quite possible for one union, dealing with one large corporation, in one negotiation, to be faced by differences in legislation in ten provinces.

The interest of the Canadian Labor Congress in the legislative field is by no means limited to labor laws. In past years the labor movement in Canada, as in other countries, has led struggles for better social legislation of all types. We are still in that position.

As 1956 draws to an end, we are engaged in a very vigorous effort to obtain a comprehensive national

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health insurance plan which will assure every citizen of adequate medical and hospital care. A great many of our members are naturally covered ander various plans which form part of their collective agreements, but we feel a responsibility which extends beyond that.

In this and in many other matters we are keenly aware that we are the largest organization in the country, that our membership and their families represent about one-quarter of the population. This position carries with it heavy responsibilities.

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National health insurance, while of very high priority, is only one phase of our social program. We have also been giving special attention to education. With a steadily increasing population, Canada's already crowded educational facilities face a very serious future.

The industrial expansion which is taking place in Canada has attracted—and to a considerable extent been the result of—an influx of capital, of which by far the greatest part has come from the United States. This has been a matter of some concern to us. We have welcomed the opportunity provided for the development of our industries and resources. We retain the friendliest of feelings toward our neighbors to the south, and this is nowhere more evident than in the trade union movement.

And yet we feel a concern that so many of our existing industries and the new ones we see coming into being should be subsidiaries subject. to the whims of those controlling a great corporation in some other country—no matter how friendly we may be and how high a regard we may hold for that country. This is not in any sense an anti-American feeling; it is rather a matter of national pride and a desire to avoid becoming an industrial colony of great American corporations.

These circumstances have applied in recent discussions centering around the construction of a pipeline to move gas eastward from the great oil fields which have been developed in the province of Alberta. The company undertaking this project is directly under the control of some of the largest oil interests of the United States. Many Canadians have been disturbed by a feeling that the primary interest of these corporations is to take the

gas to industries in the Eastern United States.

The position taken by the Canadian Labor Congress has been that the pipeline should be under Canadian control and that the gas should first be made available to Canadian industry. We think it of great importance that raw materials from our tremendous resources should be developed and processed within our own boundaries. This is, we feel, essential to a rounding out of our economy. It seems clear to us that the export of both raw materials and such power sources as gas is not in the Canadian national interest.

Outside control of Canadian plants has in some cases reacted to the disadvantage of the workers. We have experienced incidents in which Canadian workers have suffered from layoffs and other changes in conditions through a juggling of orders between an outside parent company and a subsidiary in Canada.

There is also an abundance of evidence of efforts of American parent companies to pay wages in Canada considerably below those prevailing in the United States. Earlier this year we raised this matter before a royal commission investigating Canada's economic prospects. In our submission to that body we said:

"It is hardly too much to say that the American firm gives its Canadian employes as little as possible of what it gives its American employes, and as late as possible, and only when well and thoroughly prodded or kicked into it."

A study of twenty industries shows average hourly earnings of Canadian employes to be from 8.8 to 41.9 per cent below those in the same industry (and often in the same company) in the United States. In the period 1951 to 1955, this differential was narrowed in thirteen industries, but it widened in seven.

This situation is one which has a bearing on the close relationship which exists between union members on both sides of our long common border. It is a relationship which exists nowhere else in the world and which stands as a model demonstrating the possibility of cooperation and understanding.

There are in Canada some 1,300,000 union members. Over 1,050,000 belong to organizations affiliated with the CLC. More than 70 per cent of

the Canadian men and women who have joined trade unions have chosen an international organization with membership in both the United States and Canada.

Despite the fact that the Canadian membership is a very definite minority in these organizations, there has been surprisingly little indication of an effort to interfere with Canadian affairs. In fact, the Canadian membership as a whole has enjoyed tremendous advantages in this association without sacrificing autonomy in its own affairs.

Our central organization, the Canadian Labor Congress, is completely autonomous. Its position in this regard is spelled out in our constitution. At the same time we have the most cordial relations with our brothers and sisters in the AFL-CIO.

This type of association is looked on with considerable disfavor by many sections of management. The strength which Canadian union members gain from their association with American trade unionists aids their bargaining position and so, despite propaganda circulated in an effort to break the fraternal bond, there is barely any desire on the part of Canadian unionists to change the relationship.

We in the Canadian labor movement hold very strong feelings on the urgent necessity of workers, not only in our two countries but throughout the world, welding their strength together. We enter this new period of our nation's history with a keen awareness of the hurdles ahead, but with confidence that labor in Canada, and in cooperation with the workers of other countries, can make a greater contribution than ever before to the welfare of all mankind.

It is natural that the cooperation between the AFL-CIO and the CLC and our affiliates exists—not only on the North American continent but through the ICFTU in the whole international field—because both our national centers will never be satisfied until free trade unions are established and recognized all over the world. This is our only guarantee for a permanent world peace.

To our American sisters and brothers, the sincere fraternal greetings of Canadian workers who are members of our great Canadian family, the Canadian Labor Congress.



The majority preferred Eisenhower in the White House and the Democrats in Congress.

THE BUBCHONS

Some Losses, Some Gains



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

His hand-picked candidates took a licking.

LABOR WON a number of important victories in contests for Congressional seats and for governorships and other important state offices in last month's balloting. At the same time, aided by the international crisis, President Eisenhower was chosen by an overwhelming margin to serve another term in the White House. The Chief Executive clearly demonstrated his great personal popularity, but millions of voters showed just as clearly that they are not sold at all on Mr. Eisenhower's party, its philosophy or its program.

Although the President carried forty-one states, the pull of his coattails proved not strong enough to elect men he had personally selected to run for the Senate, such as former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay in Oregon, Governor Arthur Langlie in Washington and former Governor Dan Thornton in Colorado. Despite Mr. Eisenhower's personal triumph over Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, the American people refused to turn over either house of Congress to the President's party.

Liberal Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, the GOP's No. 1 target, trounced the reactionary Mr. McKay, and Washington's Senator Warren G. Magnuson won reelection in his contest with the hand-picked Mr. Langlie. In Idaho labor welcomed the victory of young Frank Church, who defeated Senator Herman Welker. Working people also hailed the election of liberal Joseph S. Clark, Jr., who retired Pennsylvania's Senator James Duff. In Colorado, former Congressman John A. Carroll tried once again for a Senate seat and this time was successful, even though his opponent, Dan Thornton, a Presidential friend, had been given Mr. Eisenhower's personal blessing.

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JOHN A. CARROLL



FRANK CHURCH

Another new member of the Senate will be New York's Republican Attorney General Jacob K. Javits, who voted against the Taft-Hartley Act and cast many other votes favorable to working people when he was in the House. Mr. Javits was one who found the President's coattails of considerable help. The unsuccessful candidate in the fight for the seat vacated by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, one of labor's best friends, was Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York, son of the author of the Wagner Act and other progressive legislation.

There were setbacks as well as victories. For example, labor's cause was jolted when the reactionary Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, who had voted wrong on Taft-Hartley when he was a member of the Senate in 1947, managed to get himself elected to the upper house. He had suffered a bad defeat six years ago.

In the battle for control of the state legislatures, laborendorsed candidates scored some notable gains. These were offset, however, by losses in other areas. The results of the elections of state legislators indicate that, for the nation as a whole, there has been relatively little change in the balance of power. In Washington State an attempt to extend the "right to work" blight was rejected by an overwhelming margin. But in Nevada an effort to repeal "right to work" failed by 6,000 votes.

The balloting for members of state legislatures followed no clear-cut pattern. Upsets were numerous. Each of the major parties made gains in some states and suffered setbacks in others.

Most of the state legislatures will be in session in 1957. In many of these states, the election results make abundantly clear, labor will have its work cut out for it.



WAYNE MORSE



WARREN G. MAGNUSON



JACOB K. JAVITS



The textile worker receives a low wage and has little job security.

TEXTILES: A NATIONAL CRISIS

By WILLIAM POLLOCK
President, Textile Workers Union of America

MERICA'S oldest manufacturing industry is also the nation's last major stronghold of old-fashioned, bitter-end opposition to trade unionism.

This is the key fact about the textile industry today. It is the most important single fact in support of our assertion that the industry constitutes a crisis for America. For until the time comes when textile workers, like those in other basic industries, can organize and bargain collectively with their employers, large areas of our country will suffer from an economic and social blight that—like a contagious disease—is an ever-present threat to the rest.

Let me begin with a very brief history of unionism in textiles. As might be expected in the oldest industry, the story began a long time ago.

Carpet weavers struck in Thompsonville, Connecticut, in 1833. The "young ladies" in the Lowell, Massachusetts, cotton mills "mutinied"—as the law called it—a year later. And ever since, wherever the textile industry has spread, each generation has seen outbreaks by desperate workers trying to organize.

Some of these outbreaks became dramatic pages in the history of the labor movement as a whole. There was the great strike in Lawrence in 1912. There was the "massacre" at Marion, North Carolina, where thirty-six strikers were shot in the back by troops and six of them died.

Also remembered is the great textile



WILLIAM POLLOCK

strike of 1934, when 400,000 workers walked out in spontaneous protest against intolerable wages and working conditions.

These are only a few of the many examples that bear witness to the determination of textile workers to organize.

Some of the strikes appeared to end in victory. A wage cut was avoided here, a small increase was gained there. But the victories were short-lived. Before long the infant unions were smashed and the old abuses restored. Union membership reached 100,000 in 1920, only to shrink to 15,000 nine years later. It soared to 300,000 in 1934, only to collapse again after the great strike was lost.

Why was textile unionism crushed so easily after each upsurge? Lack of money was a primary reason. There was no staff to assist or service the new, inexperienced local unions. There was no possibility of emergency relief for strikers. There was no guidance on contract negotiations or legal problems,

Each local union had to rely entirely upon its own resources, which in most cases were non-existent and Local

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Local union meeting in New England. The only advantages enjoyed by Northern textile workers are in fringe benefits.

in all cases were inadequate to meet the opposition of the employer.

In 1937 the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was established through the leadership of the late Sidney Hillman. Hillman's own union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, put up more than \$500,000 for the effort. The United Mine Workers chipped in nearly \$200,000, the ILGWU added \$110,000 more and smaller contributions or loans were made by others. Two years later the Organizing Committee became a full-fledged union, the present Textile Workers Union of America.

For the next decade it seemed that textile workers were at last on their way toward complete union organization and toward economic equality with other industrial workers. The new union grew steadily to a peak of 450,000 under contract. Wages climbed steadily, too, until they equaled the best paid in any softgoods industry. TWUA pioneered in winning for factory workers such benefits as weekly sick and accident benefits, hospitalization, etc., not to mention paid vacations and holidays.

But in 1947 organizing progress

slowed to a crawl. Economic gains were harder to win. The Korean war brought brief relief from the mounting counter-attack of the employers, but by 1952 the union was on the defensive in every branch of the industry. While other workers and other unions were moving ahead, our energies were spent in fighting against wage cuts and the destruction of long-established bargaining rights.

The reasons for this reversal were many. The Taft-Hartley Act, troublesome enough to all unions, proved to be a virtual death sentence to new organization in the textile industry. It is truly said that under the present law, and especially under the present NLRB, it is all but impossible for textile workers to organize without their employer's consent. The consent, I need hardly add, is seldom forthcoming.

But Taft-Hartley and its litter of state "right to work" laws are only part of the story. They merely reflect a continuing trend in the public attitude toward unionism, especially in the Southern states where the bulk of the textile industry is located.

The employers find ready allies

among merchants, professional people, clergymen, newspaper editors and the owners of radio stations, as well as in the law enforcement agencies and the courts. Some of these allies are, in effect, "mercenaries," because they are under the economic control of the mill owners; but a majority have simply been misled, and understandably so, by the incessant barrage of anti-labor propaganda to which they have been subjected for years.

Textile workers who try to organize find themselves opposed not only by the employer but by the community as a whole. The employer fires some union leaders and browbeats others, delivers anti-union harangues at "captive audience" meetings in the mill, issues letters attacking the union in terms of racial, national and religious prejudice, and threatens to close down the plant if the union wins.

All these things used to be against the law. Some of them are still against the law in theory, but in practice there is no recourse to law.

Meanwhile, the employer's community allies have formed a "citizens' committee" which carries the attack further, with the aid of the local newspapers, radio stations, police, etc. Often the union cannot rent a meeting place.

Organizers and rank-and-file leaders are kept under constant police surveillance. The right to buy newspaper space or radio time is refused. Obstacles are raised to the distribution of union literature. Sometimes organizers are physically attacked.

And even a union victory in a Labor Board election may be only a paper triumph. The employer may refuse to bargain, creating a new dilemma. For the legal remedy, if one can be obtained at all, can be delayed in the courts for five years or more, giving the employer ample time to crush the young union; and if the workers strike, the employer finds it easy to man his machines from the great pool of under-employed Southerners, most of them marginal farmers to whom \$1.30 an hour is a fortune.

Some employers choose not to take all this trouble to cancel out a union victory. They simply fulfill their preelection threat—they close down the mill. This has happened for the most part in units of far-flung chains, where the production of a single plant can be spared until "the workers come to their senses."

I have not described exceptional cases; I have described the typical case in the Southern textile industry today.

We have full documentation of such cases by the score.

There is no need for me to point out that this is bad for the labor movement. What is much more serious, this situation is bad for our country.

The denial of constitutional and legal rights to any group is a threat to all. Arousing racial, national and religious bigotry is shocking under any circumstances. And finally, the successful resistance to union organization has hurt the textile industry economically and has condemned nearly a million workers, their families and their communities to a standard of living far below what is accepted as a minimum for Americans.

The average hourly wage in American industry as a whole has just reached the unprecedented figure of \$2 an hour. In the Southern cottonrayon textile industry—even with the

10-cent increase it reluctantly put into effect in October—the average is \$1.35 an hour. In unionized mills and most other fully integrated plants, the figure is only 7 to 12 cents higher,

Even in the Northern cotton-rayon mills, most of which are organized, the picture is no brighter. Average hourly earnings are actually somewhat below the new Southern rates on a job-for-job basis. The only economic advantages enjoyed by the Northern workers are in fringe benefits such as paid holidays and better social insurance.

Wages are higher in other divisions of the textile industry, though in no major segment do they equal the national industrial average. However, the wage rates I have cited are representative of about 80 per cent of the textile field.

A ND if low wages were not enough, the textile worker is also cursed with the lowest level of job security in any basic industry. For most of the last five years there has been a steady shrinkage of employment. Hundreds of mills have been liquidated; thousands have been on short workweeks.

What are (Continued on Page 29)

In the past, violence was often used against textile strikers. And today attacks on organizers are not unknown.



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By NANCY PRATT AFL-CIO Department of Research

SECOND OF TWO ARTICLES

WHAT'S A GOOD DEAL on a new car? Joe Brown wants that red and cream hard-top convertible and figures he can afford the extra money for an automatic shift if he can find a "good deal."

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What is his best deal? Joe is interested in the list price of the car. His car salesman probably will play up a high trade-in allowance as a good deal. If Joe had cash on hand, his best deal would be a low list price and a high trade-in allowance. But Joe, like most car buyers today, is buying on time. And for those who buy on time, another factor enters the picture—the cost of credit.

For long-term installment purchases running two or three years and involving a large sum of money, as in car buying, the best deal often boils down to the best buy in credit.

Too many persons ignore the cost of credit. They cling to the habit of merely comparing trade-ins or sales prices. They pat themselves on the back for having obtained an extra \$150 trade-in-allowance, while they may be paying \$300 too much on finance charges.

Consumers must know how to shop for favorable credit terms if they want to make the most of their dollars and avoid getting gypped.

Don't always accept the dealer's installment contract as part and parcel of the "sale." Consider the alternatives.

Basically, any time purchase involves borrowing money. And, as everyone must pay for the use of someone else's money, each loan involves interest charges. Therefore, the wise way to approach time buying is to compare the finance rates of auto dealers' installment contracts with the rates of credit unions, banks and small-loan companies. If such



NANCY PRATT

rates are lower than the installment service rates, it is to the buyer's advantage to pay cash to the sales company and take out a personal loan from another source.

How do different interest rates compare? The first step in finding the best loan source is to know how to find the true interest rate charged by the lending agency. Let's look at the question of comparing interest rates.

Most credit unions and legitimate small-loan companies quote their rates as a monthly percentage of the unpaid balance of the loan. To get the yearly interest rate, simply multiply the monthly rate by twelve. Thus, a rate of 1 per cent a month on the unpaid balance is equivalent to an interest rate of 12 per cent a year. However, the cost of the loan is less than 12 per cent of the principal because the borrower pays interest only on the unpaid amount of the loan.

This means that the interest charge

on the loan declines as it is repaid. For example, on a loan of \$1200 at 1 per cent a month and twelve months to pay, the first monthly installment is \$112-that is, \$100 on the principal and \$12 on the interest. After this payment, the borrower owes only \$1100; his next installment is \$111 -\$100 on the principal plus \$11 on the interest. And so it goes. Each month the interest charge becomes smaller. His total repayment would be \$1278-the \$1200 he borrowed plus \$78 interest. Thus the total interest cost is really only 6.5 per cent of the principal.

Unfortunately for the consumer trying to make comparisons, retail sales companies and banks for some types of loans often calculate interest differently from credit unions and small-loan companies. This rate at first may look smaller than the credit union or loan company charges, but appearances can be deceiving. This is because of the "discount method," which can be explained best by an example.

Suppose someone signs a contract to borrow \$1200 from a dealer at a discount rate of 7 per cent. Seven per cent of \$1200 is \$84. The lender normally deducts or "discounts" this \$84 right at the start, which means that the borrower actually receives only \$1116. If the money is repaid in a lump sum at the end of the loan period, the true interest rate would be the interest, \$84, divided by the amount of money actually received, \$1116, or 7.5 per cent.

But most people borrow a lump sum and agree to pay it back in equal monthly installments. In the example above, the borrower may agree to repay the \$1200 in twelve monthly installments of \$100 each. After six

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Signing a Bad Contract Costs You Money

Listed below are the finance terms of an actual auto sales contract. The column headed "Credit Union" shows the charges the buyer would have paid if he had financed the car through his credit union.

TO BE FINANCED	CREDIT UNION	FINAN	CE COMPANY
Balance on car	\$175		\$175
Loan insurance	. Included in finance charge		2.70
Health insurance	None		5.92
Dealer reserve auto ins	None		8.00
Loss of car	(Comprehensive)		7.00 e & theft only)
Collision	(\$50 deductible)	(\$	24.50 75 deductible)
Amount to be financed. Cost of financing for	\$198.90		\$223.12
	10.43		46.40
Total cost of car on pla	ans\$209.33		\$269.52
Saved by Buying on	Credit Union Plan		\$60.19

Source: Credit Union National Association.

months he has paid back half of the loan. Yet the interest charge (\$84) remains the same, even though the amount of the loan on which the interest is charged is steadily being repaid.

In this example, the 7 per cent discount rate represents a cost to the borrower of \$84. In the previous example, the cost of an interest rate of 12 per cent a year was \$78.

Clearly, if the borrower is repaying the loan in monthly installments, an installment dealer's yearly discount rate of 7 per cent is actually higher than a credit union yearly rate of 12 per cent.

In fact, the installment dealer's discount rate of 7 per cent is roughly comparable to a time interest rate of 14 or 15 per cent. This leads to the following rule of thumb for comparing interest charges for monthly repayment plans:

If the loan is to be repaid in equal monthly installments, a discount rate is roughly double a straight percentage on the unpaid balance.

A THE same time, the buyer must watch out for an assortment of hidden costs. Other conditions involved in the loan may work against the borrower. These include:

An investigation fee. If a lender agrees to lend you \$100 at a discount rate of 5 per cent plus an investigation fee of \$3, the cost of the loan is \$8 and the rate is actually 8.7 per cent or \$8 divided by \$92. If the loan is to be paid back in twelve monthly installments, the true interest rate is not twice 5 per cent but twice 8.7 per cent, or 17.4 per cent.

Delinquency charges. What are the penalties if you fail to make your payment within the required time? Credit unions rarely involve such penalties. In states with strict laws, small-loan companies are prohibited from making such charges. But in most states, lenders can exact penalties if payments are not promptly made.

Repayment allowances. What happens if you decide to repay your loan early? Remember, a bank or installment sales company may have taken out the total interest charges before you even got the money. Many state laws do not require lenders to refund any of this prepaid interest charge. Some banks will voluntarily make refunds; others do not.

▶Insurance costs. A favorite trick of small loan companies and installment sales dealers is to offer loans at the legal or going rate and then require the borrower to buy health, accident or life insurance at exorbitant rates.

All in all, there is more than meets the eye to buying on time. The average consumer is confronted by a confusing set of loan terms and conditions in deciding what his best credit buy is.

This is why, for most workers and their families, the most reliable source of funds is a credit union. Under federal and state legislation, a credit union is democratically owned and operated without profit for the benefit of its members. Before it can be chartered, it must comply with all the provisions of state and federal credit union laws.

By law, credit union interest rates in most places cannot exceed 1 per cent a month on the unpaid balance—rates far lower than those normally charged by other lending agencies. Equally important, there are no "extra" charges to worry about.

Another generally reliable source for credit is your local bank. Although bank credit standards are generally stricter than those of credit un-

WATCH OUT!

States With Poor and Ineffective Small Loan Laws

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Alabama	Georgia	North Dakota*
Arkansas*	Mississippi	South Carolina
Delaware	Montana*	Tennessee
District of Columbia*	North Carolina	Texas

* No small loan law at all.

Source: "Small Loan Laws," by Wallace P. Mors. Bureau of Business Research, Western Reserve University. 1955.

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ions, it is not difficult to get a car loan from a bank. Terms are usually more favorable than financing direct from a retail car dealer.

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Unfortunately, many people don't make full use of their credit union or banks for installment buying. It seems easier simply to sign a contract at the store than to wait a day and get a personal loan.

The files of credit unions contain many sad case histories to prove that many families go to their credit unions after they've been caught by some installment gimmick, rather

The box at the top of Page 14 gives an itemized account of an actual auto sales contract. One column shows the charges a buyer would pay through his credit union. Note that the amount to be financed was only \$175. Yet the amount saved by financing through the credit union would have been \$60.19.

In this true case a representative of the Credit Union National Association questioned the dealer closely on how he figured his costs to get such an itemization. This information was lacking on the actual sales contract. Insurance and financing charges were lumped together on a line which read as follows: "Cost of financing, including insurance-\$94.52."

This example illustrates how car dealers can lump different types of charges together in installment contracts to conceal exorbitant rates. Such practices verge on fraud, but in states without adequate legislation buyers have to rely on their own powers of investigation to protect themselves. Yet lending agencies are in business to make money. It is reasonable that they receive a fair return from their loans.

The consumer naturally wants to know what interest rates are "reasonable" for small-loan companies and installment dealers.

Obviously interest rates must be high enough to allow the lender to cover overhead costs such as rent. salaries, etc. They must also allow for the risk involved in any loan transaction.

Small loans cost the lending agency more than large loans. Overhead costs are as high for small as for large loans, but the gain is smaller. This is why it is reasonable, in general. for small-loan companies and installment dealers to charge somewhat

ARE YOU OVEREXTENDED!

Buy on time, but stagger your installment purchases. For the average family with small children, a sensible guide is one major appliance at a time, plus car payments.

You should not take on new installment commitments unless-

- 1. You have a steady job with good prospects of wage increases.
- 2. You have considered how the total price tag on the goods fits into your budget-not just the monthly payments.
- 3. You don't expect any other major expense in the near future. If your wife is expecting a baby in the next few months, it's not the time to buy a new TV set!

You may be able to take on additional installment commitments if_

- 1. There is more than one wage-earner in the family.
- 2. You don't hold a mortgage or other personal debts.
- 3. You have some personal savings.

Most people get overextended on time purchases because they buy on impulse. Don't let yourself get sweet-talked by slick salesmen into signing on the dotted line. Plan your installment buying.

higher rates on smaller loans. (In fact, some banks won't accept loans under \$100, simply because there's so little profit on them.)

However, for larger amounts where there is some security against the loan, as in the case of car financing, it is reasonable to expect lower rates.

Some state laws have taken account of these factors by establishing sliding scales for maximum interest rates geared to the size of the loan. For example, under Ohio's small-loan law

the following rate schedules are established:

3 per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between \$1 and

2 per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between \$150 and

2/3 per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between \$300 and \$1000.

This illustration gives consumers some idea (Continued on Page 31)

14 States Have Laws Regulating Charges on Installment Contracts

Legal maximum charge of 1% of unpaid balance times number of months of contract

> California Nevada Utah

Specific maximum rates established for new and used cars

Connecticut Kentucky Maryland

Michigan New York Ohio Pennsylvania

Wisconsin

Other types of regulations on contracts

Colorado Indiana New Jersey

Source: Federal Reserve Board.

We Must Do a Better Job of TELLING LABOR'S STORY

By GORDON H. COLE

President, International Labor Press Association

DON'T think anyone can argue the fact that until the last few years every medium of mass communication has been predominantly if not totally opposed to union organization. Until recently, if the newspapers and magazines ever mentioned a labor organization, it was almost invariably to cast it in an unfavorable light.

The labor movement has grown because the working people need unions. We have a public relations problem because of our success. People who don't know us and understand us are afraid of us. The big corporations understand this. That's why they spend millions of dollars every year on anti-labor propaganda.

Our enemies seem to know that they can slow us down and hobble us only to the extent that they can turn public opinion against unions. In this effort, our enemies are making full use of every medium of mass communication.

The National Association of Manufacturers set up a special propaganda division at the end of World War II to do a job on labor. Since 1945 the NAM has been grinding out literature attacking unions.

In its first four years the NAM publications department reported that it had produced 18,640,270 pamphlets. Of these 41 per cent was distributed to factory employes—in pay envelopes, literature racks and direct mailings by employers. Fifty-one per cent went to high schools and colleges. Eight per cent went to community leaders, teachers, clergymen, public officials, newspapermen, some even to union representatives.

At one time the NAM boasted that "if all the NAM pamphlets ordered for distribution in one year to students, employes and community lead-



GORDON H. COLE

ers had been stacked one on top of another, they would have reached nearly four miles into the sky—the height of sixteen Empire State Buildings."

And all this is just a beginning point. Big business has numerous front organizations these days. One of these front organizations—the Committee for Constitutional Government—produced 26,000,000 pieces of printed literature in one year. Antiunion employers who finance all this are convinced that their literature has helped to make possible a good deal of their success against labor over the past ten years.

We had better give more attention, time and effort to make ourselves better known in the community. The better known we are, the harder it will be for our enemies to mount a phony attack against us.

Meaning—a greater and more effective use of mass media, of newspa-

pers, radio, TV, films, pamphlets and periodicals. Meaning—some departures from what we're accustomed to and some improvement in what we've been content to get along with. Meaning—larger expenditures for public relations and a recognition that public relations is more important than we have heretofore budgeted for it.

Look at labor's problem with the daily newspapers. There was a large union in this country not too many years ago that solved its press relations problems logically. Its president knew that the "kept press," as he called it, opposed unions. He reasoned that newspapers only mentioned unions to do them damage. Therefore, he concluded, it was to the advantage of his union to keep its name out of the newspapers, completely if possible.

In his time he may have been right. In his time that union wasn't half the size it is today and the public didn't worry much what the union did. Today his union, like most unions, has grown into a major institution. People are interested and concerned about its program and its policies. And, like all unions, this one, too, has to depend to some extent on the daily newspaper and on commercial radio and television to tell its story to the public.

S o IT's up to us somehow to do what we can to get a fairer break than we have been getting in the daily newspaper coverage and comment on union activities. I think we are making some slow progress.

Part of our problem is a problem of human relations. We have to understand the newspapers and the newspaper editors. When we go into a newspaper office to complain about a story or a headline or a policy—as

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we should—we ought to have in mind how the city editor or the managing editor thinks of himself.

The editor knows that the daily press in the United States has the finest ideals of any press in the world. He's proud of it. He believes that he is putting out a newspaper that is both fair and honest. He will agree probably that his paper, like most papers, looks on life as a conservative. After all, the paper is a direct reflection of the attitude and outlook of the owner—and the owner is an employer, not a union member.

The editor believes that a lot of union people confuse this ultra-conservative employer outlook with what we suppose is the influence of advertisers. This editor is a harassed man with many daily deadlines. He has to put out papers that the public, including union members, want to read. He knows that his paper, if it's going to sell, has to be entertaining and exciting as well as informative.

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as T Newspapers deal in drama. That's why a strike is always hotter news than a peaceful settlement. There's no use trying to convince a newspaper editor that a peaceful settlement is going to make as exciting reading as a strike.

We can, however, make a pretty good case that an important peaceful settlement is worth some attention or a picture. And we can make an excellent case that an important settlement, pracefully negotiated, deserves some editorial praise.

I believe we can make a sound case to the newspaper editors that their eagerness to headline strikes, coupled with a failure or refusal to look on peaceful settlements as real achievements benefiting the entire community, is hurting, not helping, the cause of peaceful labor relations.

In their eagerness to print only the sensational news of strikes and trouble, the newspapers are responsible for some of that trouble Certainly their headlines are responsible for exaggerating the trouble in the minds of both management and union members as well as the public.

What it amounts to is that many of our newspaper publishers—the men really responsible—are the most class-conscious group in the country. They're still trying to prove that Karl Marx was right.

Let's not fall into a similar trap by tossing all publishers into the same pot. There are newspapers in this country that do have a sense of responsibility toward labor unions as useful American institutions. With some effort on our part, I think we can make a dent on the conscience of more of the newspapers.

I think it can only be done on a personal basis—by getting better acquainted not only with the reporters who cover labor but also with the city editors and the managing editors of the daily newspapers. If they know us and have some confidence in us, we can usually get some space in the paper for our story.

For us to go on blaming our bad press relations on a "kept press" is to me a confession of something. Too often it can be traced back to our own refusal to explain our position, our own failure to take the trouble to tell our story or our own willingness to be discouraged.

Then, of course, there are our own union publications and pamphlets. Our periodicals are improving, but too often they look like something out of the Nineteenth Century. Yet we are competing for the reading time of our members who, like everyone else, would probably rather watch television.

Very often we don't even try to use our own periodicals to tell labor's story to people outside our organizations—to clergymen, teachers, public officials, editorial writers, columnists and commentators. That a majority of those who are outside the labor movement do understand and trust labor is a tribute to the soundness of labor principles and a general realization of the need for labor organization.

We have lost some headway over the past ten years. Unless we make a greater effort to tell our story than we have, we could lose more.

Book Relates How Labor United

THE DRAMATIC STORY of how the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were united after twenty years of division is told in a most interesting manner in "AFL-CIO: Labor United," a new book by Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel for the old CIO and now AFL-CIO special counsel. The 319-page volume is a gold mine of vital labor information. It recites the history of unity discussions since 1935, describes the achievement of merger and provides a highly authoritative interpretation of the constitution of the united labor movement. The texts of key documents relating to merger are an important part of the book. Every trade unionist and every student of the labor movement ought to buy and study "AFL-CIO: Labor United." If you can't get a copy at your local bookstore, write to McGraw-Hill Book Company, 330 West Forty-second Street, New York 36, N. Y. The book sells for \$5.



ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

We Work in Post Offices

Despite many obstacles, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks has made remarkable progress. In its second half-century this 100,000-member union expects to continue its forward march.

By J. CLINE HOUSE

President, National Federation of Post Office Clerks

SMALL group of post office clerks met in October, 1900, and formed the Chicago Post Office Clerks Union. That organization applied for and received a charter from the American Federation of Labor as Federal Labor Union 8703.

The union's first objective was the abolition of a vicious system under which employes were fined amounts ranging from twenty-five cents for minor infractions of the rules to \$25 for a third failure to qualify in a comprehensive mail distribution method examination. And the employe was required to learn the system on his own time!

The members contributed to a fund to hire lawyers to test the right of the Post Office Department to collect the fines. That fight was won and the practice was discontinued.

Efforts were made to organize additional local unions, and on August 27, 1906, a national organization was formed at a meeting in Chicago of representatives of six locals. However, the American Federation of Labor required a minimum of seven locals before issuing a national charter. The seventh local was chartered on October 13.

On December 4, 1906, the charter of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks was signed by President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison and the other members of the AFL Executive Council. At that time the membership of all the locals combined was less than 1,000.

Half a century ago post office clerks worked seven days a week and as many hours as necessary to keep the mails moving. Clerks often worked twelve to fourteen hours per day. The workrooms were filthy and ventilation poor, causing a high percent-



J. CLINE HOUSE

age of tuberculosis and other diseases.

Surveillance by the administrators of the Post Office Department, which emphatically opposed employe organization, was so intense that members dared not meet except in a darkened room where none could be identified. Under such conditions the National Federation of Post Office Clerks was born.

On January 31, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt had issued an executive order which read as follows:

"All officers and employes of the United States of every description, serving in or under any of the executive departments or independent government establishments, and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase in pay or influence, or attempt to influence, in their own interests any other legislation whatever, either be-

fore Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the departments or independent government establishments in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the government service."

In 1909, President William Howard Taft added the following paragraph to the executive order:

"Nor shall any such person respond to any request for information from either House of Congress or any committee of either House of Congress, or any member of Congress, except through or as authorized by the head of his department."

Edward B. Goltra, a post office clerk in Chicago, was elected the first president of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. Leo E. George, who was to serve as president for thirty-three years and who announced his retirement at our recent Chicago convention, had just joined the organization.

These courageous and self-sacrificing men looked far ahead to a day when simple justice would prevail and post office clerks would be treated with fairness. They immediately launched a fight to achieve that goal.

These men knew that if the organization was to accomplish the desired results, the gag order would have to be nullified. Immediately, the assistance of the American Federation of Labor was sought, and President Samuel Gompers responded whole heartedly. Senator Robert M. LaFollette, an outstanding champion of the underdog, and other liberals joined in the struggle to remove this vicious order.

After a long fight, the Lloyd-LaFollette Act was enacted in 1912. This law was the federal employes' Magna Charta. It provided that an employe

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of the government shall not be subject to reduction in rank or compensation or to dismissal from the service because of membership in any organization whose object is the improvement of wages and conditions.

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks was the first organization of government employes to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The Railway Mail Association, now the Postal Transport Association, and the National Association of Letter Carriers became affiliated with the AFL in 1917.

When the charter of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks was granted in 1906, newspapers across the country demanded in news columns and editorials that the unionization of government employes should be stopped immediately. They pictured the postal service tied up by a strike. However, the founders of the NFPOC had anticipated such criticism and had written into the preamble to the constitution of the organization a provision that legislation and not strikes should be the union's last resort.

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DURING the years between the birth of the Post Office Clerks and the passage of the Lloyd-LaFollette Law, officials of the Post Office Department intimidated and harassed employes to prevent them from joining the organization. The late Oscar Nelson, the union's second president, was fired from his job in the postal service because of his activities in behalf of remedial legislation, especially the eight-hour law.

With the passage of the Lloyd-La-Follette Act, guaranteeing the right of appeal to Congress for remedial legislation, a new era in the lives of the nation's postal employes began. Subsequently most of the beneficial legislation for postal employes has been enacted.

In 1914 the first law providing compensation for injury was passed. Many improvements have been made in compensation for injury, until now such compensation for federal employes is very liberal.

The retirement law was passed in 1920. The mandatory retirement age at that time was 70, and the maximum benefit that any employe might enjoy was \$720 a year. There was no provision for a widow's annuity or for dependent benefits. Since 1920

the civil service retirement law has been amended many times, and today the law provides splendid retirement benefits for the annuitant as well as fairly liberal widows' annuity and survivors' benefits.

In 1906 the annual salary of a post office clerk was \$600 without automatic promotions. Today the entrance salary is \$3660, and the maximum for a salary level 4 clerk, the classification of most clerks, is \$4710.

In 1906 the employe worked seven days per week, frequently twelve to fourteen hours per day. Today the clerk works forty hours per week. In 1906 the employe enjoyed no sick leave benefits. His maximum vacation was fifteen days per year. Today the regular clerk is allowed thirteen days of sick leave per year, cumulative for the entire period of service. His maximum annual leave is twenty-six days per year.

At the end of fifty years of progress, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks can list many accomplishments as proof of the worth of organization and teamwork. At the beginning of its second half-century of progress, the NFPOC is hopeful of early passage by Congress of legislation establishing as a matter of legal right the recognition of organizations of government employes by administrative officials of the federal departments and agencies.

The right to organize and to petition Congress was established in the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. However, the protection of employes for which that law was designed can be and often has been nullified by administrative regulations. There is no tribunal to which

employes (except veterans) can appeal. The employing agency itself is the sole authority to determine disciplinary action for infractions of its own rules or regulations.

Rules and regulations are often made by administrative officials without consultation or conference with employes or their representatives and often without regard to their legal or moral rights or welfare. If the rules are not directly violative of statute law, they may be enforced without mercy and without appeal from the head of the Department. Such rules and regulations have been repeatedly used against active members and officers of employe organizations.

In addition, in the absence of provisions for the enforcement of the rights of employes, postmasters and others in supervisory positions have often found it possible to violate even the letter of the law because an unfriendly administration permitted it.

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has waged a continuous fight for those rights in the face of determined opposition from officials of unfriendly administrations. With the cooperation of the AFL-CIO and affiliated organizations, the prospects of favorable action by Congress have improved. The needed legislation is a major objective of the AFL-CIO Government Employes' Council.

Today, with more than 100,000 members and some 5,700 locals in every state of the Union as well as in Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks accepts the challenge of the future and looks forward confidently to continuous progress and growth.



Working conditions have improved greatly since the dark days of 1906. The seven-day workweek and the miserably low wage have been abolished.

UNIONS HAVE A RIGHT

By REV. DR. JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

Rabbi, K.A.M. Temple, Chicago; Former Chairman, War Labor Board, Region VI

Rabbi Weinstein is in his eighteenth year as spiritual leader of K.A.M. Temple in Chicago, the Middle West's oldest Jewish congregation. Founded in 1847, it has a national reputation for its liberal pulpit. Rabbi Weinstein, who was born in 1902 and ordained in 1929, is a recognized authority in the field of labormanagement relations. He was chairman of the National War Labor Board, Region VI, for three years and has served as an arbitrator.

THERE IS A RABBINIC STORY

of a group of survivors who were making their way to shore in a rowboat. Suddenly one of the survivors began to bore a hole in the bottom of the boat directly beneath his seat. To a fellow passenger's remonstrance, he replied that it was his business to do what he liked in his portion of the

"But," protested the fellow passenger, "the water which you let in that hole will drown us all!'

In this simple way the Jewish tradition proclaimed that every man's right is limited and conditioned by the equal right of his neighbor. These limitations have become more essential as we have developed an interrelated society.

In the frontier community of Daniel Boone's day the restraints on the personal freedom of the pioneer were small and few. When an individual moves into a community today, he is confronted with many conditions precedent to his freedom.

He must pay taxes to maintain the general services of the community, even though he may not personally benefit from some of them. He must send his children to school, even though he might be able to educate them better himself.

We have long ago accepted the moral and the legal proposition that a community has the right to estab-



RABBI JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

lish the conditions necessary to its survival and its functioning. Morality and legality merely sanction what we recognize as common sense.

There are many types of community. There is the political community, the religious community and the industrial community.

The industrial community is composed of two major factors-management and labor. They each establish the rules and regulations necessary for their profitable operation and over the years have developed procedures to create the rules and guiding principles which govern their mutual concern.

One of these guiding principles. established through the give and take of collective bargaining, is the union shop in its various forms. This aims to stabilize the working force and give it a responsible and continuous leadership in its relationship with management.

Many industries have willingly accepted the closed shop where only union members are employed from the very start, because they found the closed shop to be most beneficial. The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed the closed shop and has furnished the stimulus for seventeen states to pass "right to work" laws which would in effect make it illegal for unions to force the unionization of non-mem-

While these laws are advocated on the ground of protecting the constitutional rights of the individual to freedom and the pursuit of happiness. they are motivated by far less noble sentiments. They are proposed in the large by representatives of industry who would like to lure plants from unionized areas to communities where there are pools of unorganized-often rural—labor available.

State "right to work" laws are then a disservice to those established in-

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dustries which have developed high tandards of wages and good working conditions. Legislation of this kind is penalizing those sectors of industry which have wisely determined that high and secure wages are the best guarantors of high and steady production.

These laws endanger the security of the workers' families in communities where they have become rooted

as contributory citizens.

But most of all "right to work" laws give legal sanction to the "free rider," a particularly degraded type of American citizen. They enable a man to take advantage of standards and of conditions which have been bought by the sweat and sacrifice of other men. They enable the "free rider" to sabotage the orderly process of responsible collective bargaining which has been so painfully built up through the years.

"Right to work" laws threaten that form of voluntary organization which, together with our religious communities, constitutes the most essential bulwark of the democratic process. Our political agencies will never become dictatorial or totalitarian as long as so large a part of our citizen-

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ship is trained in the voluntary associations of our common life. To permit a worker to enjoy the benefits of union conditions without responsibly participating in the union is to encourage the kind of citizen who will want to share the benefits of clean water, good streets, schools, police and fire protection without paying

This is to debauch the very wellspring of the American way of life. Freedom becomes anarchy when it is not balanced and equated with responsibility.

TRUST that religious people will not be taken in by the specious contentions of the "right to work" advocates. It is most discouraging to find that the pastor of one of Los Angeles' largest churches has made his pulpit a forum from which such anti-unionists as the Kohler family can propagate their plea for state "right to work" laws. Most religious leaders will be guided by the far more socially mature directives given by the social action departments of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish denominations.

The considered judgment of all

three major denominations in America is best expressed in the statement issued by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in 1944, long before the Taft-Hartley Law opened the Trojan door to a rush of state "right to work" laws. That statement said:

"As a member of a labor union, the modern worker gains a new investment of personality. He helps to formulate policies and decisions that affect conditions of life under which he works by his participation through his union, a participation that starts in the shop meeting and that extends far in all that his union and its leaders do. * * *

"At their best, labor unions have been a primary agent of democracy. Democracy in industry is something other than benevolent paternalism. It concerns the independent status of the individual worker in relation to his employer.

"The labor union helps to lift this status into the framework of democracy when representatives of labor's own choosing meet with representatives of the employer's own choosing in reference to matters of mutual concern."

Bargain-Basement Schools

By CARL J. MEGEL

President, American Federation of Teachers

*HE American Federation of Teachers is giving leadership and concerted effort to bring to the attention of the American people two salient facts-the value of public school education and the importance of good teachers.

Our American economic system depends upon expert salesmanship. Unfortunately, the job of selling American public school education has not been done. A major reason for the deterioration of our educational system is the fact that those of us in the public schools have not properly sold our product.

Reports which we are receiving show that conditions in the schools are worse instead of better. There are more boys and girls attending school on double shifts than ever before.

The reports show that we have 50,000 boys and girls on double shifts in New York, 7,500 in Baltimore, 6,000 in Detroit, 15,000 in Chicago, 10,000 in San Antonio, 30,000 in Los Angeles and 200,000 in California, 20,000 in Atlanta, 7,000 in New Orleans, and so on across the nation. Ten million American boys and girls are going to school on double shifts, are attending school in obsolete school buildings, old churches, stores, garages, recreation halls and other makeshift housing.

These are alarming and nauseating statistics, especially when measured against the economic prosperity about which we so proudly boast. Ten million or more boys and girls inadequately housed are cheated out of the opportunity to secure the kind of education inherent in their American heritage. They are handicapped in our competitive system because they have had inadequate opportunity and, therefore, do not start out in life on an equal basis with those young men and young women who have had better educational opportunities.

Ten million or more inadequately housed boys and girls require at least 400,000 teachers who find themselves working under tremendous handicaps.

Makeshift schools mean distracting noise, lack of equipment, emotional disturbances, increased disciplinary problems, all of which tend toward educational inefficiency. The teachers' difficulties are greatly increased.

Nevertheless-and here is the important thing-America's teachers, in spite of all of these handicaps, in spite of being poorly paid, are doing a magnificent job. This fact is not properly appreciated by the citizenry of America, mainly because we teachers have not properly sold our product.

Through the American Federation of Teachers, we are making progress in this direction. I am greatly encouraged by the resurgence of interest and enthusiasm, particularly on

the part of new teachers.

Thousands of underpaid, overworked teachers are showing a great interest in the AFT and its program. They are dissatisfied with the conditions they find in their school systems and are seeking corrective action.

Skills for a Growing America

By WILLIAM F. PATTERSON

Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship, U.S. Department of Labor

MPLOYERS, labor and government are aware as never before of America's dependence upon the skills of her work force for her future progress and strength. The competency, technical knowledge and resourcefulness of our workers are indispensable to the nation's economic growth and industrial leadership.

In the past, concern with the skills and production capacity of workers assumed national dimensions only in times of emergency. At other times problems involving the adequacy of our manpower were mostly local, challenging groups of employers and labor representatives. They were problems resulting, for the most part, from the opening of new plants or industries, or the expansion of certain industries in new localities and, to some extent, from technological changes.

Today we are witnessing the beginning of a new industrial era. We see innovations in production methods and equipment, coupled with a great industrial expansion.

Our rapidly growing population necessitates a production expansion. Since 1950 the population of the United States has increased more than 16,000,000, or more than 10 per cent. It is now 168,000,000, and it is expected to reach 200,000,000 before many years have passed.

A growing population calls for more homes, more clothing, more food, more stoves and refrigerators, more air-conditioners, more television and radio sets, more automobiles—in fact, more of everything.

This points to the vital necessity to increase the number of skilled workers—as local needs dictate—in every major industry and trade, and to develop a manpower force with far greater skills than ever before.

At present some 65,000,000 workers are employed in American industry. About 9,000,000 can be classi-



WILLIAM F. PATTERSON

fied as craftsmen and technicians. According to some estimates, our total work force will have to be increased to 82,000,000 during the next twenty years, and fully a third of the workers—three times the present number—will have to be skilled.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has said:

"It is the skill, ingenuity and knowhow in the brains and hands of American workmen that have built the sinews of mighty America. This, together with our spiritual heritage, has made us a great nation. We are all greatly concerned with the preservation and development of our human resources in terms of workers' skills. Upon the depth, breadth and scope of the skills of American artisans may depend the hope of the free world. These critical resources must be cultivated with direction and perspective."

The development of the skills of our workers has always been a major concern of labor. Union representatives have rendered an invaluable service in increasing the skills and building the ranks of the nation's work force. They have worked closely with employers in joint committees in establishing and conducting apprenticeship programs. I am convinced that labor and employers, working together, are fully capable of meeting the challenge presented by the new industrial developments.

There are today approximately 8,000 joint apprenticeship committees with at least 48,000 committee members—24,000 representing labor and 24,000 representing employers. They give generously of their time and effort in carrying out the work of the committees. Their only compensation is the satisfaction of service rendered to industry and to American youth in enabling them to acquire the skills and technical knowledge necessary for true craftsmanship.

In addition to the local committees are the national trade apprenticeship committees, equally representatives of national unions and employer associations. These committees, which serve in a promotional and policymaking capacity in the trades, are appointed by the Secretary of Labor. The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship is the national policy-recommending body to the Bureau of Apprenticeship. There is also the General Committee on Apprenticeship for the Construction Industry.

NOWHERE else in the world do we find employers and labor cooperating as they do in this country in industrial training. This joint participation is an outstanding demonstration of democracy at work in American industry.

Apprenticeship in the United States is an activity in which labor and management see eye to eye. It represents a meeting ground where labor and employers get together to reach a common objective.

Congress recognized the soundness of labor-management cooperation twenty years ago when enacting the national popularly Act, au Labor to and labo prentice industry

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national apprenticeship law. The law, popularly known as the Fitzgerald Act, authorized the Secretary of Labor to bring together employers and labor to expand and improve apprentice training activities in every industry and trade.

Since the enactment of that legislation, the Bureau of Apprenticeship has cooperated closely with labor, employers and vocational schools in carrying out the objectives of the act.

The role of the Bureau of Apprenticeship is to assist union and employer representatives in establishing apprenticeship programs and placing them in operation. The responsibility of carrying out a program is shouldered, as it rightly should be, by those engaged in industry, representatives of labor and management.

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They know better than anyone else what the work is in which apprentices are to be trained and what apprentices must learn and the skills they must acquire to master all the operations performed by craftsmen.

Assisting in the setting up of apprentice training a cograms are the field representatives of the Bureau of Apprenticeship who are located in industrial centers in all parts of the United States. Every training program must be based on training needs. Helping employers and labor to determine training needs and establish a training system to meet these

needs is the function of the Bureau's field staff.

The predominant problem now facing the apprenticeship movement -a problem that is not new-is how we can bring about a situation in which more of our work force enter the skilled crafts through bonafide apprenticeship. The answer is greater participation, greater activity and greater investment in training on the part of both unions and employers. Some managements and some unions are doing a great deal more than others. Industrial concerns doing an outstanding job feel that they do not want to be training craftsmen for the non-doers.

To IMPROVE the quality of our skilled work force, programs are in operation to give skilled craftsmen an opportunity to improve their competency. These programs are found in many trades. It is reassuring that the programs for enhancing the ability of our skilled craftsmen are increasing rapidly.

The need for this training falls into three categories:

First, there are some workers classified as journeymen who, through no fault of their own, entered journeyman status through channels other than apprenticeship. A substantial proportion of these men did not receive the benefit of comprehensive,

thorough, on-the-job training and related instruction.

Second, virtually every skilled mechanic is in need of additional organized training to keep him abreast of technological development.

Third, many skilled craftsmen who are entrusted with the responsibility of imparting skills to apprentices in their charge could profit immensely from instruction in the techniques of training.

THESE programs must go hand in hand with the modernization that is taking place in all apprenticeship. It would be unrealistic to say that apprentices must have training in new practices but journeymen have no need for such training. It matters not what this type of training is called. Often it is referred to as journeyman training. Maybe there are more descriptive terms for it.

The important consideration is that its need is being recognized by both labor and management, and in an increasing number of instances they are doing something about it.

To all of us concerned with training, the technological advancement that we are witnessing presents a tremendous challenge. Changes in American industry have been taking place since the first machines were invented. The big difference between then and now is that today the in-

Under union-employer apprenticeship programs, tomorrow's journeymen spend some time in school every month.



termissions between new operating methods and machinery are growing shorter.

What effect will the increasing use of automatic machinery and its wider application have on the skilled trades? This question is heard very frequently.

Experience has shown that the introduction of automatic machinery has brought about increased production and, in turn, increased demand for craftsmen. What was true yesterday will be true tomorrow. More skilled workers will be needed, more skill and technical knowledge. In the long run, history shows, occupational changes have been advantageous to workers—increasing employment, wages and standards of living.

Behind technological improvements and success in their application have been America's incomparable engineering advancement, scientific progress and inventiveness, coupled with the initiative, alertness and eagerness of workers and employers to utilize new methods, new machines and new tools.

We have an increasing need to develop every worker to his fullest potential. As our engineers and scientist devise improved methods of production, workers are given opportunities for greater accomplishments



The apprentice learns under the guidance of a seasoned craftsman.

through the utilization and application of these methods. Every effort should be made to enable workers to improve their skills and technical knowledge, so that they can take advantage of future opportunities.

There can be no question about the great contributions labor will make in carrying out the expanded program for the development of America's craftsmen. The unions have always acted promptly and forcefully in support of constructive projects of every kind. Labor and others concerned with industrial training can be depended upon to serve the nation by helping to meet our skilled man power goals.

From Other Labor Publications

Affiliate of AFL-CIO

From Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine

History was made in the national headquarters of the AFL-CIO last month when a charter, formally recording the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, was presented to President H. E. Gilbert. The presentation was made by AFL-CIO President George Meany as officers of our Brotherhood and other rail labor leaders looked on.

In a statement when the charter was presented, President Gilbert said:

"I feel that, among other things, our affiliation with the AFL-CIO will provide one medium by which members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen can make their contribution to the attainment of progress, higher standards of living, well-being and freedom for the American people and for the free world."

A Time to Speak

From Electrical Workers' Journal

There are times in the lives of us all when we should be silent—and there are times when we should speak. AFL-CIO Secretary William Schnitzler recently closed a speech to the British Trades Union Congress with a quotation by English patriot Edmund Burke. It was this:

"All that is necessary for evil to flourish is for good men to remain silent."

This quotation is one which we can all take to heart. There have been too many times in the lives of us all when we have been too timid or just too lazy to speak up for the cause of right or justice.

It is because men failed to speak out in the beginning that abuses in government arose. It was by remaining silent and drifting along that one day the trade unionists of Germany and Italy and Russia and Argentina awoke to find their unions destroyed and themselves entrapped in a hopeless dictatorship.

Those Welfare Funds

From The Painter and Decorator

There isn't going to be any funny business with welfare fund money that will be overlooked or winked at by the AFL-ClO and its Ethical Practices Committee. President George Meany and others have repeatedly stated our views toward pension and welfare funds—that every penny belongs to the workers, that every penny must be held in trust for their benefit.

Let's Amend T-H

From White Collar

President Eisenhower's pledge to the American Federation of Labor convention in New York City in 1952—before he was elected—is still remembered. We earnestly hope that politicians will lay aside partisan politics and enact many needed changes in the Taft-Hartley Act in the next session of Congress.

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Health.

By MICHAEL M. DAVIS

letting Up Union Health Centers

WHEN a union, through collective bargaining, has obtained money to pay for health benefits, what is the best way to spend this money? The answer depends on another question: What is health insurance for?

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Is health insurance to promote, maintain and restore health? Is it to provide financial protection against medical costs?

The answer is that health insurance ought to serve both purposes together. That health insurance can promote, maintain and restore health and also furnish financial protection has been demonstrated by some of the health centers established by unions and by some health insurance

The worker of today has a keen interest in getting good medical care. Partial financial protection under health plans doesn't satisfy him.

plans under community or industrial auspices.

Unfortunately, the average health insurance plan today does not accomplish either part of this double purpose. Most of the plans for which contracts financed through collective bargaining have been made provide only partial financial protection.

Most cover only some health services performed in a hospital. Because they deal mostly with hospitalized illnesses, they fail to provide those medical services which help to keep people on their feet and out of hospitals.

Such plans emphasize serious illness and the most costly kind of care. Such plans do not cut down the dollar barrier between the worker and the day-to-day preventive and curative services which modern medicine can render through family physicians, specialists and laboratories in the doctor's office or clinic. Of course, hospitalized illnesses are expensive and we should provide for them. But suppose we can avoid hospital care by medical attention at an early stage of an illness?

Some unions have come to appreciate these facts. Therefore they have started plans which, as the well-known Boston physician Dr. Channing Frothingham advises, will insure medical care, not merely provide cash. There are now some fifty union health centers in the nation. A few began years ago, but most very recently.

It is not easy for most unions to start them, because few union members or officers are familiar with the ways of setting up an organization to provide medical service. It may be useful, therefore, to set down some general policies and principles derived from the experience of many such organizations.

A health center ought to meet the members' needs for *comprehensive* care. This means the diagnostic,

Dr. Davis has been a leading figure in the field of medical care administration for more than forty years. He has served as director of graduate courses in the University of Chicago and was chairman of the executive committee of the Committee for the Nation's Health. He has written several books.



preventive and treatment services of family physicians, specialists, needed laboratory and X-ray work, plus arrangements for prepaid hospitalization. Merely to provide diagnostic services—finding what's wrong but not giving care—doesn't meet the needs of workers and their families. Frequently the worker finds it financially impossible to purchase treatment, and he does not wish to go or have his wife or children go to a charity clinic.

Few health centers will have their own hospitals, so that arrangements for prepaid hospitalization are usually made with the Blue Cross plan of the locality or through some other plan. The health center's job is to provide physicians' services.

It is difficult—usually impossible to supply members with comprehensive physicians' services at reasonable cost by buying them on a fee basis from doctors who practice each in his own office.

There needs to be an organized group of physicians, as the health center's own medical staff. In some places unions find an already existing medical group of good standing with which a contract can be made. In New York City the Health Insurance Plan has organized many such groups located all over the city.

Getting a group of competent physicians, well-balanced as between general (family) physicians and the various specialties, is quite possible, though not easy. To select such physicians and arrange the setup, salaries, etc., to mutual satisfaction requires the advice and guidance of physicians who are experienced in such matters and who are in full sympathy with the purposes of the union health center.

Sometimes this advice can be found from physicians in the locality. Sometimes a union must turn to well-established union health centers elsewhere. Nurses and other personnel must also be engaged.

Getting the physicians may be complicated by opposition from the local medical society. Dealing with this opposition in the best way again calls for professional advice and guidance. The engagement as early as possible of a medical director for the center, a physician with professional standing and administrative ability, will help greatly in handling these problems. The medical director needs backing

from the beginning from sympathetic physicians of high standing in the locality.

It is usually necessary to plan the arrangement and equipment of a clinic, perhaps in a new building, perhaps utilizing an existing building. Here professional advice and guidance are again needed. The physicians and laymen who are managing union health centers have recently formed an organization of their own, the Association of Labor Health Plan Administrators, for pooling well-seasoned information and advice, and making these available.

Then we come to the problems of organization and management. Beginning on the next page will be found ten "principles of organization" which have been tested by the experience of many organizations providing medical services—hospitals and clinics, besides union health centers.

Some of these ten principles are self-explanatory. On others, some comments may be useful.

W HAT are the respective responsibilities of the people who pay the costs and the physicians who provide the services? This is a vital question. Recently the American Medical Association adopted a long list of "guiding principles for the evaluation of management and union health cen-

ters." While on the whole a progressive statement, it failed entirely to include any definition of the respective responsibilities of the union and the physicians—the lay and the medical elements which are involved in every health center. Without a clear mutual understanding of the right medicallay relations, the confusion and friction which have often occurred in the past are bound to continue.

The right relationships are stated in general terms in the first of the principles of organization appearing at the end of this article. No. 2 explains just what is the "governing body," representing primarily the people who pay the bills and receive the services. Then No. 3 states what the governing body is responsible for doing.

The next two points turn to the medical side. In addition to the active staff of physicians—the working medical group of the health center—there is needed a medical advisory body (No. 4) to supply necessary overall professional guidance and sponsorship. No. 5 describes an essential part of the organization, a committee representing both the physicians and the laymen, so that the numerous problems which involve joint professional, financial and other interests can be mutually understood before decisions are made.

The medical director is, of course,



A center's job, Dr. Davis stresses, should be to provide comprehensive preventive and treatment services for the workers and their families.

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a kingpin in any successfully working organization. On him depends largely the effective working of the staff, the medical advisory board and the relations of these to each other and to the governing body. He must also deal with the county medical society, and here a good medical advisory board will be of utmost value to him and to the center.

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As No. 7 suggests, some centers have an administrative director as well as a medical director. That may complicate the organization but may work out very well.

THERE remain some general questions—costs, size, location and relations with other unions and with the community.

A comprehensive medical service, including arrangements for prepaid hospitalization, costs from \$150 to \$200 a year for the average worker and his family. If this seems large, remember that it is less than the average worker is now spending, if you add to what he (or his employer) pays for his health insurance the additional money which he has to pay for needed services not covered by his present insurance plan.

Costs will vary, of course, according to the exact services provided, the salary levels in the area and other factors. In getting advice on costs, a physician or an administrator experienced in health centers and other comprehensive service plans is much better than an insurance actuary.

Too small a membership does not provide a sound base for health insurance, nor for enough doctors to cover needed specialties. How much is "too small"? In some rural areas and industrial towns, comprehensive service plans have been undertaken with less than 5,000 persons involved, but in large cities 10,000 should be regarded as the minimum and double this number is desirable.

There are great advantages in services and in economy if several local unions, each too small to set up a satisfactory center, will combine to establish one. The AFL Medical Service Center in Philadelphia is a successful example of such a combination.

The health center ought to be as convenient as possible to the homes and working places of members. It is not easy to find such a location when the membership is scattered over a vast city and its suburbs.

In New York several unions have each set up a center, all in the same part of the city, although the members are widely scattered. Why not an arrangement which would have enabled the centers to be scattered?

The best answer to this problem is a community-wide plan with centers or branches located in different parts of the area, open to groups of union members and to others. The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York and the Ross-Loos Medical Group Plan in Los Angeles are examples of this policy.

To come back to the question raised at the beginning of this article: What is the best way to spend the health insurance money that's raised through collective bargaining?

Unions, and particularly health and welfare trustees, have the responsibility of answering this question so as to make the health and welfare dollar bring the best return to their members. Medical care that keeps people well or prolongs life or makes a longer life more worth living is certainly one of the best returns.

To obtain such care is the reason for starting health centers or joining in local movements to establish them. Prepayment of the expense, arranged through collective bargaining or otherwise, can support this medical care so as to remove all the nagging worries about sickness costs from the hearts of the worker and his wife.

Union Health Centers Principles of Organization

I

Basic Principles. The center should be organized in accordance with three principles long established in hospitals and other medical organizations: (1) the governing body to be responsible for general policies and finances; (2) the medical staff, with the medical advisory board and the medical director, to be responsible for all professional standards and procedures; (3) all matters of joint lay-medical concern to be determined by an organized plan of conference and negotiation.

77

Governing Body. The governing body of the center should be initially set up by the union or unions sponsoring the center, or by their author-



The employment of qualified people who know their fields thoroughly is vital for a health center's success.

ity, and should be composed, in majority, of persons representing those who receive and those who pay for the services provided. Sometimes it also may include physicians and persons who are drawn from the community and who are not employes of the center or members of its active medical staff. The governing body of a center is legally and administratively distinct from a "health and welfare fund" through which, as a result of collective bargaining, money for operating a center may be partly or wholly derived.

Ш

Responsibilities of Governing Body. The governing body should determine what persons are entitled to receive the services* furnished by the center and the general scope of the services to be provided; appoint the medical advisory board, the medical staff in accordance with standards defined by the medical advisory board, the medical director and the administrative officers of the center; define the responsibilities, tenures and compensation of those appointed; furnish reports on the activities and finances of the center for the information of its beneficiaries, staff, cooperating organizations and the public.

IV

Medical Advisory Board. The governing body should establish a medical advisory board, composed of physicians of standing from the local community or elsewhere, who shall (a) advise the governing body concerning standards for appointment to the medical staff and concerning the

^{*} Under some conditions this decision may be made by the Welfare Fund.

qualifications of individuals for appointment, and (b) assist the medical staff, medical director and the governing body concerning professional standards and policies, in obtaining desirable hospital connections for the members of the medical staff and in relations with the organized medical profession and other professional associations.

V

Lay-Medical Conference Committee. In order to promote effective and democratic relations between the medical and the lay groups of the center, provision should be made for a responsible conference committee, or analogous group, representing both the professional staff and the governing body.

VI

Non-Profit Basis. The center should, under the laws of the state in which it is to operate, be incorporated as a non-profit organization, from the operation of which no financial profit

can accrue to any individual, and from which no individual can receive any remuneration except reasonable salaries, wages or other compensation for services actually furnished to the center.

VII

Internal Administration. In the experience of union health centers and of similar organizations, responsibility for the two essential groups of functions—medical and administrative—is combined under a medical director (with an administrative assistant) or is divided between two persons whose respective duties must be carefully defined and coordinated.

7III

Membership Relations. The organization should include provision for one or more bodies representative of those whom the center is designed to serve, in order to promote health education, to aid in the adjustment of administrative procedures and in deal-

ing with misunderstandings and complaints.

IX

Cooperation With Professional and Community Organizations. The center should endeavor to maintain mutually helpful relations with the organized medical profession and with other public and private health and welfare agencies.

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Public Information Policy. The governing body is responsible for providing those who are entitled to receive services from the center and those who might become so entitled with information as to the services furnished and the conditions under which these may be obtained. Information concerning the center and its services should be supplied in accurate and dignified form, avoiding commercial methods of solicitation and in consonance with principles accepted by the medical and allied professions in such matters.

bor Department in connection with Walsh-Healey minimum wage determinations.

Whatever may be the merits of such technical controversies, there can be no question that the term "prevailing," if it signifies anything at all, must mean current. Workers employed by firms holding federal contracts are entitled by law under the Walsh-Healey Act to the minimum wage which actually prevails in the industry.

Certainly "prevailing" must mean the current or, at the very least, the recent prevailing minimum wage and not the minimum wage prevailing four, eight, ten or thirteen years ago.

If the Walsh-Healey Act is to become a vigorous instrument for the protection of minimum labor standards, its administration must be made fully effective.

This will require minimum wage determinations for all industries significantly involved in work on government contracts, review of minimum wage determinations no less often than every two years, and amendment of the law to prevent delays through court litigation.

Only speedy adoption of these changes will make the Walsh-Healey Act an effective tool for the protection of the labor standards of lowpaid workers in American industry.

What Happened to Walsh-Healey?

(Continued from Page 5)

formation, actually did not take effect until March, 1956.

Since this was also the effective date for the \$1 minimum under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Walsh-Healey minimum wage that was ordered in cotton textiles provided no benefit whatsoever for low-paid workers in this industry.

In order to prevent workers from being penalized by lengthy court litigation, the AFL-CIO has urged that the law be amended to prohibit courts from issuing injunctions suspending the effectiveness of Walsh-Healey minimum wage orders pending litigation.

The enactment of this amendment would still permit court appeal of the determinations of the Secretary of Labor, but it would not permit complete nullification of the minimum wage while the case is in the courts.

American citizens have the right to expect that, if a law is on the statute books, it will be effectively administered and the purpose expressed by Congress in enacting the law will be fully achieved.

Failure to carry out the Congressional mandate makes a travesty of the lawmaking process.

The will of Congress when it enacted the Walsh-Healey Law has clearly been flouted. There may be legitimate differences as to the exact technical methods which should be used to determine the prevailing minimum wage in a particular industry. As a matter of fact, these differences are expressed by the representatives of unions and management who appear at the hearings held by the La-



Congress made clear just what it wanted when law was passed. Purpose is not being achieved.

Textiles: A National Crisis

(Continued from Page 12)

the causes of this depression-withinprosperity? They are complex. Fundamentally, they are a combination of vast increases in man-hour productivity and the almost universal failure of textile management to meet the needs and desires of the consuming public. An ever more productive industry has been winning an ever declining share of the consumer dollar.

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The workers themselves are not the only losers. The merchants, the professional people—the whole community—also suffer. The proof can be found in the per capita income, retail sales, bank deposits, etc., in textile states, all of which are down at the bottom of the national list.

In describing the problems confronting us, I have not discussed foreign competition. While it is true that imports, especially from Japan, have seriously hurt some parts of our industry, the basic abuses I have cited—low wages and fanatical antiunionism—existed long before the flow of imported goods began, and unless the industry changes its ways, these abuses will continue even if the import question is satisfactorily resolved.

What do we propose to do about these abuses? What is our program for raising textile wages, restoring the liberties of textile workers and bringing greater stability to the textile industry?

The obvious answer is to organize the unorganized. That's exactly what we have been trying to do, at a cost of \$1,000,000 or more a year. And we're trying even harder today. We are getting help, in the form of staff, from the AFL-CIO to work on several of the larger textile chains, and we're glad to have it.

But as I have pointed out, under present conditions the obstacles to successful organizing by traditional methods are almost insuperable. Therefore we have adopted new approaches and are constantly devising

First, we have embarked upon a public relations campaign to dramatize the problems of our industry, to counteract as best we can the hostile climate of opinion toward trade un-

ionism in the South and to point the way toward a program that would be beneficial to all concerned. In this effort we have obtained the support of President George Meany, and we will need the support of the entire AFL-CIO.

Second, we have devised and are presenting publicly a series of specific proposals to meet specific industry problems. Some of these would involve joint union-management action. Others are aimed at stimulating the industry to action on its own behalf.

Third, we are continuing to stress the need for legislative reform. I am writing this article before the November election and it will appear after the votes are counted, but in our case the timing is not important. We believe the crisis that the textile industry poses for America is too serious for narrow partisanship. We believe its solution should be of equal interest to both political parties.

Obviously the problems I have set forth here have little chance of solution without the united action of the labor movement as a whole. While we ourselves are not without resources, and while we are prepared to throw everything we have into the struggle, no one union by itself can alter the social and economic course of a large section of the nation. We need the help of all labor.

There was a time, a generation ago, when the textile union leaders of that day were looked upon as "tin-cup boys"—always begging for help. We are proud that we have come a long way forward since then. Today we set our cause before the labor movement, not because we are unable to help ourselves, but because our cause is labor's cause, and its ultimate triumph is as important to every other union as to our own.

We are not seeking help for textile workers or for our union. We are seeking help in the solution of a crisis for America. We are not soliciting funds. We are soliciting the dedication of our fraternal colleagues to a struggle in which all America has a stake.

Because the labor movement is now united under vigorous, alert leadership, we have every confidence that the struggle will be won.

Hutcheson Raps NAM Chief

E XTREMISTS in industry who are trying to turn working people against the leaders of their unions were denounced in a Detroit address by Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO.

Speaking at a diamond jubilee banquet sponsored by fifteen local unions affiliated with the Carpenters District Council, Mr. Hutcheson condemned recent remarks by Cola G. Parker, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The Carpenters' chief assailed the NAM president for his "unsought advice to union men and women of America, calculated to pit them against their officers."

Mr. Hutcheson told the audience of 1,500, which included Michigan's Senator Patrick V. McNamara, that Mr. Parker would serve the NAM much better if he concentrated on improving labor-management relations and left the management of union affairs to the members and officers.

The speaker voiced a "firm" belief that extremists like Cola Parker make no contribution of value to "our country's growth—spiritually, morally, culturally or economically."

The remarks which were criticized by Mr. Hutcheson were made by Mr. Parker in a recent address before the Detroit Economic Club. Mr. Parker in that speech had said that he would like to create a "Defense of Freedom League."

The purpose of this organization, he averred, would be to provide citizens with "protection against unions."

Thinking of a Florida vacation? Please nemember that

quite a few of the Miami Beach hotels are still non-union, and the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes, AFL-ClO, to organize these hostelries is continuing. No real trade unionist is going to patronize a non-union hotel. Be sure to check on the situation before you make your reservation. The Hotel and Restaurant Employes' office in your city can tell you which Florida hotels are union and which are still non-union.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

The next time you have your hair cut, there is a good chance that the barber will use shears bearing the Machinists' label. IAM Lodge 1988 recently negotiated an agreement with the Wahl Clipper Corporation, Sterling, Ill., to imprint the union label on its shears, hair clippers and vibrators—and bring hourly wage increases as high as 57 cents in the year since the union gained bargaining rights at this company.

▶ Locals of the Operative Potters have won a wage increase, improved health program and company-paid pension plan at four plants of the Universal-Rundle Corporation. The locals are at Camden, N. J.; New Castle, Pa.; Redlands, Calif., and Hondo, Tex.

▶The Lancaster County Court in Pennsylvania has upheld the right of Local 682 of the Motion Picture Operators and other unions to picket the Columbia-Drive-In Theater in an effort to persuade the owners to employ union projectionists.

Ace Adams, member of the Transport Workers employed as a bus driver on the Queens-Nassau Transit Lines in New York, is the composer of "Honky Tonk," a song which has recently been on best seller lists in many cities across the nation.

▶ Local 3, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, New York City, has signed first contracts providing wage increases and pension benefits for employes of the Edison Price Fixture Company and the Display Animators Company.

Local 302 of the Bakery Workers, Toledo, Ohio, has won a pay increase and employer contributions to the national pension and welfare funds in a new contract with the Sandusky Bread Company.

▶W. E. Clawges, president of Local 175, Trenton, N. J., has been elected first international vice president of the Operative Potters. He fills the vacancy created when E. L. Wheatley moved up to the presidency.

A 10-cent hourly wage increase and improved health, welfare and pension provisions have been obtained by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for 1,100 employes of the Lowell, Mass., and Waterville, Me., plants of the C. F. Hathaway Company, shirt manufacturers.

Local 79 of the Plasterers, Houston, Tex., has negotiated a three-year contract with the Houston Lathing and Plastering Contractors Association. The Plasterers will receive \$3.37½ an hour until next July, when the rate will rise to \$3.50.

The Insurance Workers of America, after a long strike, have won for agents employed by the Home Life Insurance Company in Pennsylvania and Delaware benefits five times as great as those offered by the company before the walkout.

The renewal by Local 302 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of a contract with Sieburg's Buffets, New York City, has gained increases of \$1.50 to \$2 weekly, the third wage hike since the local won representation two years ago.

▶ Local 262, Furniture Workers, has won pay increases, additional paid holidays and hospital insurance for retiring employes in a new contract covering 1,000 members negotiated with the Simmons Company for its plant in San Francisco.

A committee of Indianapolis Local 17 of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants helped Oscar Coulson, last surviving charter member of the local, celebrate his ninety-second birthday at his home in Indianapolis.

Delegates to the recent convention of the Train Dispatchers voted overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

▶ Local 444, Furniture Workers, has gained a 40-cent hourly package in a three-year contract with the Red Lion Cabinet Company in Pennsylvania.

Minimum wage underpayments totaling \$425,738 were collected by the New York State Labor Department for 11,661 workers during the first nine months of this year. State minimum wage orders in the Empire State cover retail stores, laundries, restaurants, beauty parlors, cleaning and dyeing establishments, hotels, amusements, the confectionery industry, recreation and camp counselors.

Seventeen Navy Department cash awards for practical suggestions have been made to Bob Wright, a member of Lodge 1533, American Federation of Government Employes, during his twelve years of employment at the Navy Supply Center, Oakland, Calif.

The Newspaper Guild in New York City has gained wage increases totaling \$9 a week in new contracts with seven major dailies. The newspapers are the Times, Herald Tribune, News, Mirror, Post, Journal-American, and World Telegram and Sun.

A decision by Theodore Kheel, arbitrator, has been hailed by the Transport Workers in New York as substantially curbing arbitrary layoffs of employes on the city-operated rapid transit system.

▶Local 777, Retail Clerks, has obtained a union shop agreement as a result of negotiations with the San Pedro-Wilmington (Calif.) Automobile Dealers Association. Fourteen firms are covered by the pact.

Directly Affiliated Local 18820, Optical Workers, has gained higher wages and full hospitalization coverage in a new two-year pact with the Optical Wholesalers of Pittsburgh.

A contractor was sentenced to jail in Orange County, Calif., for failure to make payments to the Carpenters' Health and Welfare Trust for Southern California.

▶ Local 604, American Federation of Teachers, Joliet, Ill., has won for elementary school teachers yearly salary increases as high as \$550. ions hacents a some of nation.

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Deleven non-operating railroading unions have won wage increases of 24 cents an hour over three years for some 700,000 employes across the nation. The unions achieving gains as a result of the agreement are the Machinists, the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Firemen and Oilers, the Railway Clerks, the Railway Carmen, the Signalmen, the Maintenance of Way Employes, the Railroad Telegraphers and the Hotel and Restaurant Employes.

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)n The nation's capital is to enjoy uninterrupted bus and streetcar service. The new company, D.C. Transit System, has accepted the arbitration proposal advanced by Division 689, Street and Electric Railway Employes. The union also won wage in-

creases and improved vacation and holiday clauses.

▶NLRB election victories have been registered recently by the Office Employes at Fairchild Aircraft in St. Augustine, Fla., and Sears Roebuck in Bellingham, Wash.

The Legal Rights Fund of the American Federation of Government Employes has received \$609 from Lodge 15, Internal Revenue Service, New York City. This unit's total contribution to the fund now is \$1109.

An AFL-CIO Aviation Legislative Committee has been formed. The group will seek federal legislation designed to eliminate plane disasters. Represented on the new committee are the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, the Air Line Pilots, the Auto Workers, the Air Line Dispatchers, the Railway Clerks, the Machinists, the Flight Engineers, the Transport Workers and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The Hollywood Screen Cartoonists, Local 839 of the Theatrical Stage Employes, has bestowed an honorary lifetime membership on John M. Baer, dean of American labor cartoonists. He has been associated with the newspaper Labor and the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department for many years. He was the designer of the official AFL-CIO seal.

The Retail Clerks were victorious in elections held at twenty-seven Henke and Pilot stores in Texas. The stores are in Houston area, Beaumont, Port Arthur, Orange and Galveston.

Consumer, Beware!

(Continued from Page 15)

of the "reasonable" rates for different-sized loans. A loan company which charges more than these rates is probably either operating an inefficient business or gouging the consumer.

The task of the consumer trying to find a fair charge for credit would be much easier if state laws were more effective. Judging from the experience under small-loan laws, the outlook for more effective and wide-spread legislation on installment contracts is disheartening.

After fifty years of legislative experience with small-loan laws, there are still twelve states with virtually no small-loan protection. Other states have laws that may be effective in most respects, but some loophole opens the door for loan sharks. And gyp dealers have a sharp eye for such legislative loopholes.

Under an effective small-loan law, maximum interest rates are established and any other extra charges are expressly prohibited. Small-loan companies have to be licensed, and supervisory officials are given sufficient discretion and authority to enforce the law.

Without such effective legislation, the consumer can never be sure that he is not being overcharged.

For today's consumer, the tradi-

tional type of state small-loan law is not enough because it fails to reach people who buy directly from an installment dealer. Only comparatively recently have states begun to regulate this phase of installment buying. Such laws generally require installment sellers to distinguish between the cash price and the finance charge on the agreement signed by the consumers.

Fourteen states have made another important step forward in regulating actual charges on installment contracts. However, even where these laws are on the books, they may not cover the problem of extra charges such as tie-in insurance.

State laws on consumer credit run the gamut from virtually no protection at all in some states to fairly effective standards in others. This wide disparity in state standards only adds to the consumer's confusion. It hurts business, too. Unless states have effective laws, legitimate small-loan companies can't compete with gyp dealers.

The history of state small-loan legislation shows a failure to achieve a national standard through enactment of forty-eight "model" laws. Federal legislation is needed to give the car buyer in Georgia an even break with his brother in New York. Installment buying is a national practice. Only

through national legislation can all consumers be assured equal protection under the law.

Until consumers become aware of all the complexities of handling time purchases, it is unlikely that there will be enough public demand to force effective consumer debt legislation.

The first step must be greater public awareness and initiative. Every consumer should be aware of what's involved when he signs an installment or small-loan contract. He may not be an expert in figuring interest rates, but he should have a general knowledge of reasonable loan terms. He should be familiar with the laws in his state regulating loan agencies.

If loan terms seem suspicious, it's up to the individual consumer to take the initiative and report his suspicions to his local union, better business bureau, legal aid society or city magistrate. Such public agencies are interested in helping consumers, but their hands are tied unless they are kept informed.

Consumers who take the initiative, both as individuals and through community groups working to get effective controls, can help make installment buying a truly effective tool to achieve a better standard of living.

ATTEND YOUR UNION MEETINGS

Informative Pamphlets Are Now Available

AFL-CIO publications cover a wide range of subjects

By FRED ROSS

ANY attractive pamphlets that are a tribute to the craftsmanship of the writers, the artists

and the printing trades have been issued recently by the AFL-CIO. These pamphlets cover a wide range of subjects of interest to trade union members and to alert, forward-looking citizens everywhere.

One of the most eyecatching is "This Is the AFL-CIO" (publication No. 20), which tells how merger occurred, the aims and the aspirations of the labor movement, some union accomplishments and the operation of the year-old organization. Every union member should read it,

A companion piece is the leaflet "Going First Class" (publica-

First Class" (publication No. 35), which highlights some outstanding achievements of the labor movement during the past twenty-five years. This leaflet is ideally suited for union organizing campaigns.

Particularly timely is the illustrated thirty-five page pamphlet, "La-

bor Looks at the 84th Congress" (publication No. 36). It tells the fate of measures about labor and other is-

sues, and of some bills contrary to the public interest. The pamphlet also outlines the AFL-CIO program to be presented to the next Congress in January.

This publication includes a concise statement by President George Meany on the failures and achievements of the last Congress. It will help unionists to be better informed and affords the public an opportunity to learn of labor's legislative goals.

Another pamphlet which deserves wide distribution is "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions" (publication No. 31). Written by

Harry Fleishman, Joyce Lewis Kornbluh and Benjamin Segal, this publication clearly sets forth in fifty-two pages the damage done to thousands of union members and government employes by security program abuses. President Meany has written a force-



Four-page AFL-CIO leaflet makes clear that the farmer and the worker are dependent on each other.

ful foreword, and there is an eloquent concluding summation by James B. Carey, chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee and president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

"Farmers and Workers" (publication No. 38) is a four-page leaflet which should have many readers, particularly among farmers. It contains the text of the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on the farmers' plight, the mutual dependence of farmers and union members, and the labor movement's efforts to win for the tillers of the soil a fair share of the national income.

"Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Insurance," a twopage leaflet, is a handy and useful tabulation of the pertinent provisions of the laws, state by state.

Sample copies of these and other AFL-CIO publications and quantity rates may be obtained by writing to the Department of Publications at the AFL-CIO Building, 815 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.



This pamphlet tells what you want to know about the united labor movement.

When_ you do your Christmas shopping STOP AND THINK

IT'S MIGHTY IMPORTANT to you and every other union member to maintain good union conditions. So when you do your Christmas shopping this year, why not make it a strict rule to insist upon the union label? To union members, the union label is the symbol of brotherhood—and brotherhood is the true spirit of Christmas.

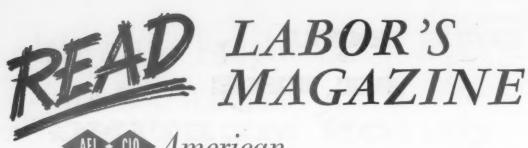


SEE YOU AT THE



A VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE UNION means important benefits for you and the other members of your organization—higher wages, better conditions, more security. A union becomes vigorous and effective only when its members demonstrate that they are sincerely interested in its affairs not only at new-contract time but through the fifty-two weeks of the year. If you expect your union

to do a good job for you, you must do your part. If you want to make economic progress, you must help constantly to strengthen your union. One of the most valuable contributions you can make is by regular attendance at the meetings of your local union. Experience proves that there's no better way to insure that your union will always be vigorous, effective, thoroughly democratic.



AFL CIO American

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TELL YOUR FRIENDS about labor's lively, interesting, modern magazine. Urge them to subscribe. A full year of top-notch reading costs only \$2. Incidentally, the official

AFL-CIO magazine makes an excellent gift. All subscription orders should be mailed to AFL-CIO American Federationist, AFL-CIO Building, Washington 6, D. C.

